

50 dissidents since May 13, with a number still in custody. These have included two detained for helping to organize a petition calling on the government to overturn its verdict on Tiananmen. The detainees include former student leaders at Tiananmen, a member of the fledgling Democracy Party, intellectuals, and journalists. Those not detained have reportedly been under constant surveillance amid calls by China's top prosecutor for a clampdown on "all criminal activities that endanger state security," including such activities as signature gathering and peaceful protest.

More generally, five years after the President's decision to de-link MFN from human rights, the State Department's most recent Human Rights Report on China still describes an abysmal situation. According to the report, "The Government continued to commit widespread and well-documented human rights abuses. * * * Abuses included instances of extrajudicial killings, torture and mistreatment of prisoners, forced confessions, arbitrary arrest and detention, lengthy incommunicado detention, and denial of due process." This list does not even touch on restrictions on freedom of expression, association, and religion or the continuing abusive family planning practices.

In my view, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion except that "constructive engagement" has failed to make any change in Beijing's human rights behavior. I would say that the evidence justifies the exact opposite conclusion: human rights have deteriorated and the regime continues to act recklessly in other areas vital to U.S. national interest. We have so few levers that we can use against China. And if China is accepted by the international community as a superpower without regard to the current conditions there, it will believe it can continue to abuse human rights with impunity. The more we ignore the signals and allow trade to dictate our policy, the worse we can expect the human rights situation to become.

This year—1999—is likely to be the most important year since 1989 with respect to our relations with China. We face many thorny issues with China, including the accidental embassy bombing, faltering negotiations regarding accession to the World Trade Organization and the recent release of the Cox report on Chinese espionage.

But even with all that is going on, the United States and others in the international community yet again failed to pass a resolution regarding China at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva earlier this spring, largely because China lobbied hard to prevent it. Despite China's efforts to avert a resolution, the United States must also shoulder some of the blame for the failure to achieve

passage—our early equivocation on whether we would sponsor a resolution and our late start in garnering support for it no doubt also contributed to the lack of accomplishment in Geneva. While we would certainly prefer multilateral condemnation of China's human rights practices, the failure to achieve that at the UN Commission on Human Rights proves that it is even more important for the United States to use the levers that we do have to pressure China's leaders. We can not betray the sacrifices made by those who lost their lives in Tiananmen Square by tacitly condoning through our silence the continuing abuses.

We know that putting pressure on the Chinese Government can have some impact. China released dissident Harry Wu from prison when his case threatened to disrupt the First Lady's trip to Beijing for the U.N. Conference on Women, and its similarly released both Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan around the same time that China was pushing to have the 2000 Olympic Games in Beijing. After losing that bid, and once the spotlight was off, the Chinese government rearrested both Wei and Wang. These examples only affirm my belief that the United States should make it clear that human rights are of real—as opposed to rhetorical—concern to this country.

If moral outrage at blatant abuse of human rights is not reason enough for a tough stance with China—and I believe it is and that the American people do as well—then let us do so on grounds of real political and economic self-interest. We must not forget that we currently have a substantial trade deficit with China. Over the past few years, the U.S. trade deficit with China has surged. It has risen from \$6.2 billion in 1989 to nearly \$57 billion in 1998. Political considerations aside, a deficit of that size represents a formidable obstacle to "normal" trading relations with China at any point in the near future. Other strictly commercial U.S. concerns have included China's failure to provide adequate protection of U.S. intellectual property rights, the broad and pervasive use of trade and investment barriers to restrict imports, illegal textile transshipments to the United States, the use of prison labor for the manufacture of products exported to the United States, as well as questionable economic and political policies toward Hong Kong.

This does not present a picture of a nation with whom we should have normal trade relations. Or, if the Administration accepts these practices as "normal", perhaps we need to redefine what normal trade relations are. These are certainly not practices that I wish to accept as normal.

My main objective today is to push for the United States to once again make the link between human rights and trading relations with respect to

our policy in China. As I have said before, I believe that trade—embodied by the peculiar exercise of NTR renewal—is one of the most powerful levers we have, and that it was a mistake for the President to de-link this exercise from human rights considerations.

So, for those who care about human rights, about freedom of religion, and about America's moral leadership in the world, I urge support for S.J. Res 27 disapproving the President's decision to renew normal-trade-relations status for China.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Williams, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

At 1:09 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hanrahan, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bill:

H.R. 1379. An act to amend the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1999, to make a technical correction relating to international narcotics control assistance.

The enrolled bill was signed subsequently by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

At 5:10 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 150. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey National Forest System land for use for educational purposes, and for other purposes.

At 5:45 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1906. An act making appropriations for Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000, and for other purposes.

MEASURES REFERRED

The following bills were read the first and second times by unanimous consent and referred as indicated:

H.R. 150. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey National Forest System land for use for educational purposes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

H.R. 1906. An act making appropriations for Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-3575. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Adequacy of State Permit Programs Under RCRA Subtitle D" (FRL # 6354-7), received June 2, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3576. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; Pennsylvania; Enhanced Inspection and Maintenance Program Network Effectiveness Demonstration" (FRL # 6355-2), received June 2, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3577. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; California State Implementation Plan Revision, South Coast Air Quality Management District, San Joaquin Valley Unified Air Pollution Control District, Siskiyou County Air Pollution Control District, and Bay Area Air Quality Management District" (FRL # 6353-1), received June 2, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3578. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; California State Implementation Plan Revision, El Dorado County Air Pollution Control District" (FRL # 6356-1), received June 2, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3579. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; Ohio" (FRL # 6353-2), received June 2, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3580. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "National Emissions

Standards for Hazardous Air Pollutants Emissions: Group IV Polymers and Resins" (FRL # 6355-5), received June 2, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3581. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Regulation of Fuel and Fuel Additives: Modification of Compliance Baseline" (FRL # 6354-5), received June 2, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3582. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Service Contracting—Avoiding Improper Personal Services Relationships" (FRL # 6353-9), received June 2, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3583. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of two rules entitled "Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; District of Columbia; Enhanced Inspection and Maintenance Program" (FRL # 6356-4) and "Lead; Fees for Accreditation of Training Programs and Certification of Lead-based Paint Activities Contractors" (FRL # 6058-6), received June 8, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3584. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Identification of Additional Ozone Areas Attaining the 1-Hour Standard and to Which the 1-Hour Standard is No Longer Applicable" (FRL # 6344-4), received June 8, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3585. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Kresoxim-methyl; Pesticide Tolerances" (FRL # 6085-4), received June 8, 1999; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3586. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of two rules entitled "Certain Plant Regulators; Cytokinins, Auxins, Gibberellins, Ethylene, and Pelargonic Acid; Exemptions from the Requirements of a Tolerance" (FRL # 6076-5) and "Sethoxydim; Pesticide Tolerance" (FRL # 6080-9), June 8, 1999; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3587. A communication from the Secretary of the Federal Trade Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Rescission of Guides for the Watch Industry" (16 CFR Part 245), received June 8, 1999; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3588. A communication from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, U.S. Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Drawbridge Regulations;

Grand Canal, Florida (CGD07-98-048)" (RIN2115-AE47) (1999-0019), received June 8, 1999; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3589. A communication from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, U.S. Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Marblehead, MA to Halifax, Nova Scotia Ocean Race (CGD01-99-062)" (RIN2115-AA97) (1999-0026), received June 8, 1999; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3590. A communication from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, U.S. Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Hospitalized Veterans Cruise, Boston Harbor, MA (CGD01-99-055)" (RIN2115-AA97) (1999-0027), received June 8, 1999; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3591. A communication from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, U.S. Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Regatta Regulations; SLR; Independence Day Celebration, Cumberland River Mile 190.0-191.0, Nashville, TN (CGD08-99-036)" (RIN2115-AE46) (1999-0018), received June 8, 1999; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3592. A communication from the Fisheries Biologist, Office of Protected Resources, National Marine Fisheries Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Temporary Rule and Request for Comments Sea Turtle Conservation; Shrimp Trawling Requirements" (RIN0648-AH97), received June 4, 1999; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3593. A communication from the Fisheries Biologist, Office of Protected Resources, National Marine Fisheries Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Temporary Rule and Request for Comments Sea Turtle Conservation; Shrimp Trawling Requirements" (RIN0648-AH97), received June 4, 1999; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3594. A communication from the Fisheries Biologist, Office of Protected Resources, National Marine Fisheries Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Notification of an Exemption and Request for Comments Sea Turtle Conservation; Shrimp Trawling Requirements" (RIN0648-AH97), received June 4, 1999; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3595. A communication from the Program Analyst, Office of the Chief Counsel, Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of VOR Federal Airways; Kahului, HI; Docket No. 97-AWP-35 {6-3/6-3}" (RIN2120-AA66) (1999-0186), received June 4, 1999; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3596. A communication from the Program Analyst, Office of the Chief Counsel, Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: McDonnell Douglas Model DC-9 and C-9 [Military] Series Airplanes; Docket No. 98-NM-110 {6-3/6-3}"